

Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance.
Five copies will be sent to one address for ten dollars, if payment be made in advance.
All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (post paid), to the General Agent.
Advertisements making less than one square inch three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1.00.
The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.
The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz.: FRANCIS JACKSON, ELIAS GRAY LONG, EBENEZER QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRECK, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 48.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1856.

WHOLE NUMBER 1351.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SELECTIONS.

THE UNION AND SLAVERY.

Extracts from a Discourse delivered in All Souls' Church, New York, on Sunday, Nov. 2, 1856, by Rev.

HENRY W. BELLOWS, D. D.

There remain, then, the two great issues of principle and policy: the question of slavery extension or non-extension; the question of Union and Disunion—and to discover our duty as moral and religious beings, about to vote in the fear of God, it is necessary to examine candidly the attitude of parties in respect to these two issues. I utterly disclaim the imputation of bad motives to any party in this brief investigation. For, whatever party tactics may affirm, I do not for a moment believe that the Northern portion of the Democratic party desire the extension of slavery, or that they believe themselves voting for its extension in supporting their candidate. This is not their issue. Their issue is Union or Disunion. They sincerely believe the Union endangered by the agitation of the slavery question, and by the demands of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican measures, the South will revolt and disunion ensue, they must be considered—I mean the responsible and intelligent portion of the party—as having taken the ground that the question of Union is *infinitely more important and pressing than the question of Slavery*. This is not saying that they desire the extension of slavery: it is not saying that they do not regard its extension as an evil. It is only saying that they regard it as a less evil than disunion—or as an evil which is not absolutely certain to follow from their policy—but which, if it should, is more easily contended with than the tremendous calamity of disunion. I put the case as fairly and strongly for that side of the political contest as I know how.

On the other hand, doubtless, it is a misrepresentation of the Republican party to say that they desire disunion, or are careless of that peril, or the threat of it. Their issue in this campaign is not Union or Disunion; they do not regard that, as the other party do, as being the *main* issue, or the issue *now*. With them, the grand issue is the extension or non-extension of slavery. They are fully convinced that Kansas and Nebraska, and an indefinite amount of Territory now free, will be cursed with slavery, if the Cincinnati principles prevail in this election. Slavery they regard as the great curse of our land, the source of all our political calamities and agitation, the misfortune of the Southern States, and the peril of our Government. Tolerating it where it is, only because they cannot, without breach of the Constitution, touch it, but feeling that its existence at all is deplorable, they regard its extension with horror, and are driven by mingled feelings of patriotism, humanity, and religion, to take a positive and uncompromising stand against it, as to be resisted, at all hazards and with every legal and constitutional weapon. I need not remind any portion of this congregation by what slow degrees, and with what misgivings, relents, and compromises this position has at last been won. Four times, at least, in the history of the Government, it has been taken, and abandoned to the prayers, the threats, the fears of the country. The cry of disunion ought to shake the heart and bring hesitation and delay to every American bosom charged with favoring it. That any principle, or institution, or measure, that any evil or any good is greater and more worth consideration than the Union of the States, ought to be most reluctantly and cautiously used. The habit of mind, of speech, of conduct, ought to be settled against the very name of disunion, and it has been so. That habit—the habit of living and forswearing it, the Union has caused the greatest sacrifices of friendship and political hopes and prospects which were ever made by statesmen. Few did more skillfully and flatly contradict the effects and doctrines of his whole life when he yielded to the righteous clamor for Catholic emancipation, than the greatest of American statesmen, when he supported the Compromise of 1850. It was a great and enormous sacrifice of personal conviction, the resistance of a torrent of Northern sentiment, the bitter abandonment of the policy of a life-time of loyalty to the Union. It was meet and necessary, perhaps, that that last splendid offering should be made of the greatest of the sons of the North upon the altar of Calvary. I hope he will live to see the *Republi-* of the United Southern States, a rich, prosperous and happy people, holding an influential position among the most powerful nations of the earth!

I have thus promptly answered your inquiries, and frankly communicated what I know and believe concerning our chief magistrate elect, and feel entirely justified in so doing, because of the very natural and reasonable anxiety so generally felt concerning the moral and religious principles of a called to fill a station of such prominence and influence.

From the Charleston Mercury.

PROGRESS OF DISUNIONISM.

The following extract from a letter of a deservingly influential gentleman in the Parish, to one of the oldest and most respected of our merchants, is of the many evidences we have received of the impression produced by Mr. Rhett's able, comprehensive and statesmanlike letter to Gov. Adams.

JOHN'S ISLAND, NOV. 10, 1856.

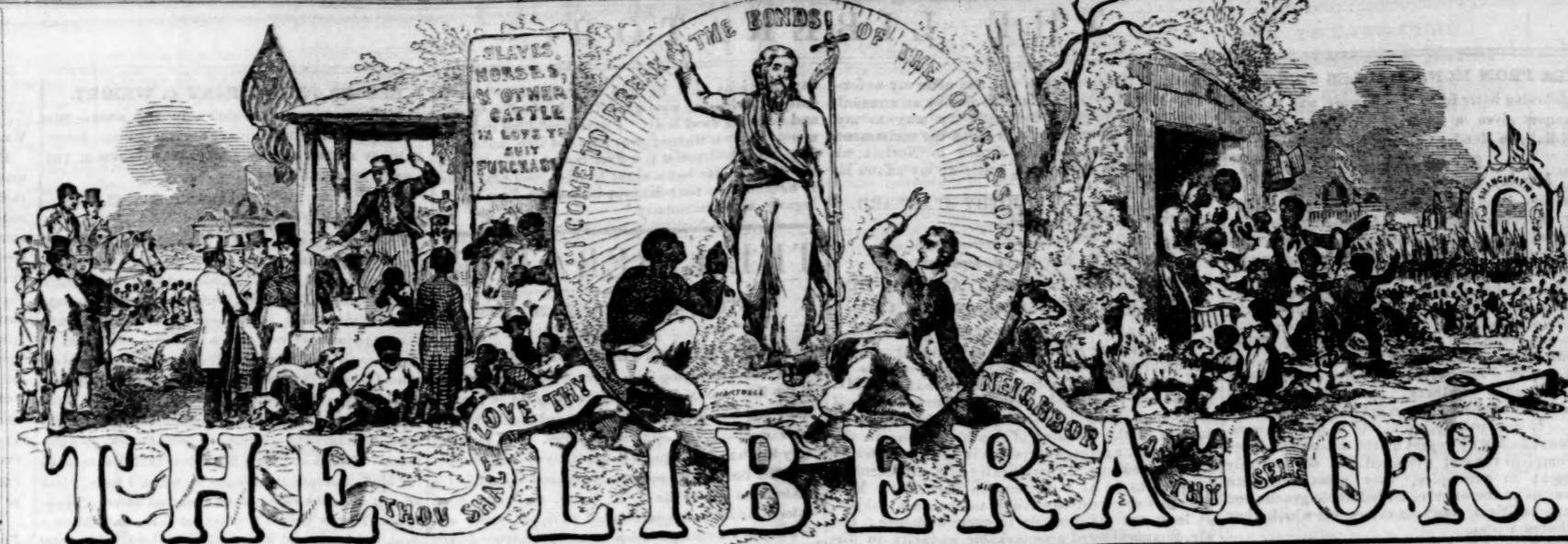
DEAR SIR.—I rejoice with you to see, every day, fresh evidence of the most temperate and disinterested of the South are fast moving to the conclusion that this unnatural Union cannot, and ought not to last much longer. For my part, I am very anxious to be correct; that I think, as the lawyers have been, *ipso facto*, a disinterested—dissentient Southern man being willing, for one day, to be sold by him. The letter to Gov. Adams is a very powerful production—plain and direct, and therefore powerful. I have always looked upon the author as one of our greatest men—far-seeing, clear-headed; next, in my estimation, to Mr. Calhoun; and, like that ever to be lamented man, always true to the South, even when she was not true to herself. Posterior will do him justice by placing his name very near Calhoun's. I hope he will live to see the *Republi-* of the United Southern States, a rich, prosperous and happy people, holding an influential position among the most powerful nations of the earth!

SATURDAY.

This, then, is the unyielding ground of the Republican party—*there is no evil possible to our country at this crisis so great as the extension of slavery*. The air of that State does not at all agree with him, and the physician who is nursing the disease, lest it should die a natural death, we understand, has earnestly advised an immediate pilgrimage to the Connecticut Reserve, where the air is more pure, the equality and amalgamation of race more perfect, and where he will enjoy the society of Mr. Giddings, whose forbearance of manners and classic wit cannot fail of counteracting the deleterious effects of the guita percha. As an instance of the deplorable malignity of party spirit, it has been more than insinuated, by certain so-called democrats, who don't believe in Mr. Garrison's Bible, that the honorable Senator has had much more trouble to keep himself ill than to make himself well, and that he is resolved not to recover until after the next Senatorial election in Massachusetts.—Washington Union.

THE BOSTON PATRIOT. The election having come off, there is of course no longer any party necessary for Sumner's head to remain sore, and that the master comes out of his retreat, ready to talk in the open air by the hour. What a marvel that there should be such a connection between the Fourth of November and the tissues of the cudgel-creator. The Senatorial sophomore has no doubt of the entire North with re-habes and plagiarisms from Demosthenes. His silence was more eloquent than a sermon by Beecher. Now, there is no more need for shamming Abraham, as the Cape Cod phrase it, and Master Sumner is ready to present his wet brows for that chapter that Master Sumner is ready to bind about them.

It does seem rather dishonest to get well so suddenly about election day, but we suppose the wire-pullers of the Abolition party compelled the chaste Senator to remain an invalid. Thurlow Weed might have told them that Sumner was a good enough Morgan until the election was over.—Philadelphia Daily News.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—The slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the REBELLION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; and THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—John Quincy Adams.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, PRINTERS.

EVERY

REFUGEE OF OPPRESSION.

THE UNION AND SLAVERY.

Extracts from a Discourse delivered in All Souls' Church, New York, on Sunday, Nov. 2, 1856, by Rev.

HENRY W. BELLOWS, D. D.

In the first place, the dissolution of the Union, however deplorable, is not primarily a question of conscience, but of policy. It is not primarily and obviously a question of right and wrong, but of expediency and inexpediency, of affection and disaffection. We made the Union, and we have a right to unmake it, if we choose. We should violate no moral principle by abrogating the contract with the consent of the parties to it. On the other hand, the extension of slavery is primarily a question of conscience. Slavery is right or wrong. The South latterly assert it to be right and good, after having by the mouths of all their great statesmen, acknowledged it to be wrong in principle and evil in practice. If they are sincere in this recent position, they can maintain slavery, and we are forbidden by the limitations of our relation to the slavery question, and by the demands of the Republic party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the future character of the Territories, as free or slave States, be left to the sole determination of their inhabitants, slavery will be extended into them; and, on the other hand, regarding it as much more probable that, with the success of the Republican party, which would positively exclude slavery from any soil now free. And, regarding the question as at least, uncertain, whether if the

SPEECH OF HON. ANSON BURLINGAME.

At the Faneuil Hall Banquet, Nov. 24.

Ladies and Gentlemen—I am too weak to say much, but I am too grateful to remain entirely silent. I left my room for the first time almost for more than four weeks to meet you here to-night. I left under the earnest protest of my physician, but when I thought of your kindness, I felt that it was my duty to present myself before you, even though I might not be able to stand up before you more than a moment. And now that I am here, I can do little more than return to you, one and all, my profoundest thanks for the honor you have conferred upon me. (Applause.)

I thank, in the first place, for our common victory, the laboring men of this District, who did their own thinking and their own voting; (loud cheers), men who, casting down the axe and the hammer, said to the timid and the servile, 'Vote, if you will, to please the South'; we vote to please ourselves. (Enthusiastic cheering.)

I thank the young men of the District, who stood around me like a band of brothers. From their fiery hearts came our victory. I shall never think of their tireless energy and their kindling enthusiasm without emotions of gratitude and pride. (Cheers.)

I thank also the men of other parties, who, when they saw three upon one, felt and said that it was not fair, and who stood out stoutly against a combination which was not true to any party, but manifestly opposed to freedom. (Great cheering.)

I thank the generous merchants and rich men of the District, whose patriotism was not dimmed by their wealth,—the sons of those who fought on Bunker Hill,—those men who, on election day, a true representative in the man who replied, when the tongue of servility called for a vote for cotton, 'Sir, there is something higher to vote for to-day than cotton.' (Loud applause.)

I thank those scholars, clergymen, and women, so kindly given to freedom by my friend Mr. Hillard, (daughter,) thus giving to it the victory wherever religion, and learning, and the ladies, are respected. (Enthusiastic cheers.)

And last, but not least, I thank that brave old man whose name shines in the annals of our country, who cast into the balance of our doubtful District, more than the sword of Brennus, in that 'the pen is mightier than the sword.' (Loud and prolonged cheering.) He gave us a pamphlet speaking in the spirit of our fathers of the Revolution, and it was backed by 84 years of a pure and illustrious life. (Renewed cheers.) Long may the good old man live, and keep the vigor he had, on the day of battle, when, though aged in years, he was

—So iron of limb,

That few of their youth could cope with him;

And the foes whom he singly kept at bay;

Outnumbered his thicks, silvery gray.'

(Loud applause.)

Again, I say, I thank you, one and all, not because it was a personal triumph, but because it was a triumph of principle. (Loud and enthusiastic cheers.) Through your good will, and a kind of destiny, my name, for the passing hour, became one of the symbols of our fathers. And I rejoice with you for the common cause, that our flag floated victoriously in the Natick air. (Great cheering.) I thank you, fellow-citizens, that you did not give up old Faneuil Hall to South Carolina. (Vivacious cheering and cries of 'Good! good!') They may call the roll of their voluntary slaves in the District still, but the roll of freemen out-numbers them all. (Shouts of applause.) I trust the time has gone by, never, never to return, when anybody, however great his proclivity to craven servility and sycophancy, will do it, or expect Massachusetts to deem it, a merit in his candidate, that his election will be 'agreeable to the South.' (Loud cheers.)

*I marvelled, as you marvelled, when you heard that a distinguished man in this district expressed the hope that Boston would be represented in the next Congress by a man who, while expressing the sentiments of Massachusetts in national affairs, would express them in such a way as not to give offence to any one. That language, if it means anything, means this: 'Speak to please the South.' Uriah Heap was humble! (Hours of laughter and applause.) Uriah Heap was humble, but he had a motive: he 'stooped to conquer.' (Renewed laughter and cheers.) Here is somebody who proposes a perpetual Uriah Heap; who proposes it as a rule of action, a *policy*, for the descendants of Hancock, and Adams, and Otis, and Warren, and Prescott, and Lawrence, and the mechanic, Paul Revere. Speak for Massachusetts so as to please the South! Fellow-citizens, how would you begin such a speech? and how, alas! would you end it? (Cheers.)*

I formerly resided at Fairhaven, where my family are now, and ever have been; but having myself been engaged for several years past in the commission business in Norfolk, and having paid taxes there, and to the best of my abilities discharged my duties as a citizen of that place, I have considered it my residence, and in the Spring of 1855 I offered to vote at their election, when, upon a full statement of my case to the proper authority, and with their knowledge that my family were here, it was decided that I was entitled to vote there, and I did so.

I have never in any way meddled with the subject of Slavery—having no inclination, nor, as I believed, any right to do so—consequently there has been no ill-feeling toward me on that account.

Before the election, many political meetings were held in Norfolk, but I did not attend any one of them, nor did I converse with any one on the subject, except on one occasion, in answer to an inquiry made by a friend, and then for a moment only. But although neither an abolitionist nor a politician, I examined the subject as a question of duty, as well as for every citizen of the United States, and I made up my mind that the election of Fremont, in the west, for all sections of the country, and determined to vote for him—not in the Democratic State of Virginia, any one who desire amanuensis from the exhibition of a 'true son of S. Carolina,' should invite Mr. Simons to address them, provided they can stomach snarks at old Bay State, which is sacred to us by all the associations of the past, and grand in all the achievements of the present. And besides they will quite a good deal of interesting statement, which may also be found in any good history of the Revolution. But we are sorry for the State which sends forth a perambulating Don Quixote, whose lack of good sense is not palliated, as was his Spanish prototype, by the possession of good manners.

THE LIBERATOR.

Truly, A. M.

LETTER FROM HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

The following letter from Mr. Sumner was read at the Banquet given in honor of Mr. Burlingame, at Faneuil Hall, on Monday evening, Nov. 24th:—

HANCOCK STREET,

Monday Evening, 24th Nov., 1856.

Dear Sir—I am sorry to renounce any opportunity of doing honor to Mr. Burlingame; but my careful physician does not allow me yet to take part in the excitement of a public meeting, and I yield to his prescription.

My best wishes attend your distinguished guest to-night, and always! His recent triumph is the occasion of special joy, not only in Massachusetts, but everywhere throughout the free North. Many who voted against him must in their better moments condemn themselves—as much as they have been condemned by others. If not entirely due to generous impulses, they must be glad that they failed. If not entirely insensible to appearances, they must look with regret at the means employed to accomplish the end proposed. If not entirely indifferent to principles, they must look with amazement at the unprecedented, incongruous and eccentric political conglomeration of which they contributed a part.

It was natural that the propagandists of slavery, acting under direction from Washington, should vote against Mr. Burlingame. It was natural that others, who allow themselves to be controlled by the rancors and jealousies of party, should do likewise. But it was hard that this blow at Freedom should be attempted in the name of trade, and that merchants of Boston should be rallied against a candidate who has done so much to make Boston respectable.

And yet this extraordinary conduct is not without a parallel in history. The earliest anti-slavery effort of England was against the Barbary Corsairs, and that was opposed by the 'merantile interest,' so that even Admiral Blake, who, like Mr. Burlingame, had somewhat transcended his instructions, was the victim of the moment. I hold his highness will not be offended, nor any who regard only the honor of the nation, although I expect to have the clamor of interested men.' And this same 'merantile interest' also set itself against the greatest anti-slavery enterprise of Clarkson and Wilberforce when they demanded the suppression of the slave trade. Such examples teach us not to be disappointed when this interest is invoked against our efforts.

But secondly, Mr. Simons is remarkable in his style. If a lecturer so audacious as to select a disagreeable subject, he would naturally, one would think, seek to drown like, by a show of consideration and by insinuating address. But Mr. Simons assumed the defiant at the outset. Before commencing he robbed up his head, threw open his coat, planted his foot, shook his manuscript, and hardened his muscles, in a way abundantly amusing to the good-natured crowd. He then opened in extravagant tirade at every one, whether in Congress or as editor, who has dared to question the chivalrous valor of South Carolina. He abounded in excessive epithets. He called them 'rascals,' 'defamers,' 'wretches,' and the like: more than once speaking contemptuously of the newspaper press, smearing at the 'vulgar world,' (meaning the common people, or the workers, which here at the North constitute rather a large part of the lecture-goers,) and having the hardihood even to depreciate Massachusetts by comparison with South Carolina, with more than one fling at her revolutionary sires.

But Mr. Simons's manner is more remarkable than his style. He dashes himself into a foam of dashing declamation. He blusters, and raves, and stamps his foot, and mouths,—tearing a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears.

The contrast of the considerateness, dignity, and cultivation of such lecturers as Storer of Eugene, and Hopper of L. I., with this, is painful indeed to provoke; but that which 'made the unskillful laugh cannot but make the judicious grieve.' It was a fair specimen of the declamation of South Carolina chivalry.

A class, educated to dictate to inferiors rather than to reason with equals, produces a queer subject for Northern lecture committees. Those who desire amusement from the exhibition of a 'true son of S. Carolina,' should invite Mr. Simons to address them, provided they can stomach snarks at old Bay State, which is sacred to us by all the associations of the past, and grand in all the achievements of the present. And besides they will quite a good deal of interesting statement, which may also be found in any good history of the Revolution. But we are sorry for the State which sends forth a perambulating Don Quixote, whose lack of good sense is not palliated, as was his Spanish prototype, by the possession of good manners.

Truly, A. M.

*THE MECHANICS OF BOSTON.—May they all appreciate the spirit of him among their number, who, when pressed to vote against Mr. Burlingame on mercantile grounds, nobly replied at once, 'I am a merchant, but at the polls I mean to be a *patriot*.'*

Accept my thanks for the honor of your invitation, and believe me, dear Sir,

Faithfully yours, CHARLES SUMNER.

JOSEPH STONY, Esq.

A FREMONT VOTER DRIVEN FROM VIRGINIA.

From the New Haven Palladium.

LETTER FROM CAPT. STANNARD.

MESSES. EDITORS.—As various and somewhat incorrect reports are in circulation respecting what occurred at Norfolk, Virginia, in consequence of my vote in that city at the late Presidential election, I desire to make a correct statement of the facts.

I formerly resided at Fairhaven, where my family are now, and ever have been; but having myself been engaged for several years past in the commission business in Norfolk, and having paid taxes there, and to the best of my abilities discharged my duties as a citizen of that place, I have considered it my residence, and in the Spring of 1855 I offered to vote at their election, when, upon a full statement of my case to the proper authority, and with their knowledge that my family were here, it was decided that I was entitled to vote there, and I did so.

I have never in any way meddled with the subject of Slavery—having no inclination, nor, as I believed, any right to do so—consequently there has been no ill-feeling toward me on that account.

COL. PRYOR.—Dear Sir: As you have doubtless, like many other persons, had anxious, alarming and conflicting feelings in your city in regard to the contemplated slave insurrection in this vicinity, I have concluded to give you, and through you the numerous readers of your paper, the facts as they actually occurred.

On Tuesday morning, a negro girl of Mr. G. W. Vandal, who is engineer at Mr. R. Glenn's steam-mill, three miles below this, informed her mistress that she had been told by one of the negro men at the mill, the night before, that the negroes intended rising on the day of the election; and that their plan was to take advantage of the absence of the white men on that day, and while they were all from home at the polls, to kill all the women and children, get all the money and arms, and waylay the men on their return home from the election and murder them; then make for the railroad cars, take them and go to Memphis, where they would find arms and friends from up the river to carry them off to the Free States if they did not succeed in taking this country. Mrs. V. communicated all this to her husband, who said nothing until night, when he and his wife waylaid the cabins, and overheard a similar conversation among the negroes themselves. He next day had them all, some thirty-two in number, arrested and tried, when proof sufficient was adduced for the magistrate to commit twenty-three of them to jail at Somerville, which was accordingly done.

The excitement was very great for several days, but it was now pretty much subsided. We have put out a Vigilant Patrol, and all is now becoming tranquil. Facts were brought to light sufficient to satisfy all present, not only of the guilty intentions of some six or eight of the negroes arrested, but it was made clear to the minds of thinking men, that the thing was not confined to this particular neighborhood, but that they expected to act in concert with various others in the surrounding counties and States. I simply write you this statement to correct the many false and unjust reports that have been circulated; such as, that six or eight negroes had been hung by the mob at Somerville, and that they were, and had no reason to doubt that others would vote the same way; in the afternoon I wrote a note to Fremont and Dayton, and went to the place of voting. My right to vote was again examined, and on a statement of my case it was admitted, and I then, as is customary, read the list of candidates, a large number of voices shouted, 'Hang him,' 'Hang him,' and the Inspector handed me my vote and said, 'There is no such ticket voted here—we cannot receive this.' I replied, 'Very well,' and took my vote again. Some threats, which in the confusion that took place I did not distinctly understand, were made by those standing near me, and the presiding officer exclaimed, 'Don't touch this man,' and then said to two persons who were, I presume, policemen, 'Take him away from the polls.'

The officers seized hold of me, and hurried me through the crowd, and left me, and I proceeded to a violent storm of wind and rain to my boarding house, and thence to my store. I afterward returned to the house, and when at the super-table I heard persons speak of the vote which had been offered, and therefore speaking freely of it in my presence. From what I saw and heard at the polls, and what was said at the table, I was apprehensive that I had misunderstood my rights as an American citizen, and that I had, though unconsciously, so offended public sentiment by my vote as to be in danger of popular violence, and I therefore went from the table to my room and locked the door.

Soon after, I heard some one inquire for me, and the lady sent a servant to my door, to say that a gentleman wished to see me. On learning that he was alone, I invited him into my room, and he said that he came by request of another person, (whom he named.) I asked him if I had offered to vote for Fremont, and he replied, 'Yes.' He then inquired, 'What was your motive?' And I told him that I consciously believed it my duty to do so. He then said, 'I am requested to advise you not to go in to the polls to-morrow.' I replied, 'What is next to-morrow?' and he said, 'The election.' I then told him that I should not leave my room that night, but if Mr. F. wished to see me, he might come to my room. He then left me, and another person came to my room, and informed me that Mr. F. was not at the front door, but that several men whom he named were there, and I knew those men to be some of the most desperate characters in Norfolk.

This was in the evening, and by the time I could see from my window a collection of persons in the street, whose numbers increased till late in the night, and I heard their threats of violence to my person and destruction to my property. Toward morning, a fire occurred, and an engine passed near by, which drew after it a portion of those around the house, and I took the opportunity to leave the house unobserved, and went to a place of concealment. While in my hiding-place, some friends took occasion to ascertain whether it was prudent for me to appear again in public, and they found such a state of excitement and expectation existing in consequence of my vote, that I was afraid to be in danger if I was discovered. They also found that the customary routes of travel to the North were closely watched, although many believed that I had already left the city.

*Let us begin the campaign here and now. (Yes, yes, and cheers.) Our banner, though rent by the shock of battle, still flies in the wind. Our union is perfect, our leaders are beloved, and all we ask of them through the coming campaign is to sound in our ears continually the battle-*order* of Napoleon! Forward—forward—forward!*

I have spoken longer than I intended; and now, thanking you once more for your thousand kindnesses, bid you an affective farewell.

[Mr. Burlingame took his seat amid a tempest of applause, followed by three rounds of cheers.]

Early in the morning of the day after my unfortunate vote, I escaped from the city by an unusual route, and in disguise, and made my way to my family; and I hope now that when the excitement has passed, I may safely return to Norfolk, at least to remain until I can settle up my affairs in that place.

TIMOTHY STANNARD.

Fairhaven, Nov. 17, 1856.

From the New York Independent.

WM. GILLMORE SIMMS AS THE DEFENDER OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

ROCHESTER, Nov. 14, 1856.

Wm. Gillmore Simms lectured at the Athenaeum last evening. Mr. Simms in his own words is 'a true son of South Carolina.' More than this, Mr. Simms is a remarkable man. He showed himself to be remarkable in the choice of his subject—a defense of the chivalry of South Carolina in the Revolution, against aspersions in Congress and by Northern editors. The chivalry of S. C. happens to be at a discount in Rochester. Most lecturers are sensible enough to choose a subject, at least not disagreeable to their audience; but Mr. Simms showed a remarkable audacity in dictating this lecture.

My best wishes attend your distinguished guest to-night, and always! His recent triumph is the occasion of special joy, not only in Massachusetts, but everywhere throughout the free North. Many who voted against him must in their better moments condemn themselves—as much as they have been condemned by others. If not entirely due to generous impulses, they must be glad that they failed. If not entirely insensible to appearances, they must look with regret at the means employed to accomplish the end proposed. If not entirely indifferent to principles, they must look with amazement at the unprecedented, incongruous and eccentric political conglomeration of which they contributed a part.

It was natural that the propagandists of slavery, acting under direction from Washington, should vote against Mr. Burlingame. It was natural that others, who allow themselves to be controlled by the rancors and jealousies of party, should do likewise. But it was hard that this blow at Freedom should be attempted in the name of trade, and that merchants of Boston should be rallied against a candidate who has done so much to make Boston respectable.

I thank the young men of this District, who stood around me like a band of brothers. From their fiery hearts came our victory. I shall never think of their tireless energy and their kindling enthusiasm without emotions of gratitude and pride. (Cheers.)

I thank also the men of other parties, who, when they saw three upon one, felt and said that it was not fair, and who stood out stoutly against a combination which was not true to any party, but manifestly opposed to freedom. (Great cheering.)

I thank the generous merchants and rich men of the District, whose patriotism was not dimmed by their wealth,—the sons of those who fought on Bunker Hill,—those men who, on election day, a true representative in the man who replied, when the tongue of servility called for a vote for cotton, 'Sir, there is something higher to vote for to-day than cotton.' (Loud applause.)

I thank those scholars, clergymen, and women, so kindly given to freedom by my friend Mr. Hillard, (daughter,) thus giving to it the victory wherever religion, and learning, and the ladies, are respected. (Enthusiastic cheers.)

And last, but not least, I thank that brave old man whose name shines in the annals of our country, who cast into the balance of our doubtful District, more than the sword of Brennus, in that 'the pen is mightier than the sword.' (Loud and prolonged cheering.) He gave us a pamphlet speaking in the spirit of our fathers of the Revolution, and it was backed by 84 years of a pure and illustrious life. (Renewed cheers.) Long may the good old man live, and keep the vigor he had, on the day of battle, when, though aged in years, he was

—So iron of limb,

That few of their youth could cope with him;

And the foes whom he singly kept at bay;

POETRY.

From the Independent Democrat.

FREE KANSAS INVADED.
Sad are our hearts, for Freedom's voice
Is stilled in our Nation's halls;
And words of tyranny and wrong
Are echoed from those sacred walls;
Round Kansas, once so free and fair,
The vilest monster throws his chains;
Oppression bears his standard there,
And frenzied blood on all her plains.

Our souls are pained; but kindred there—
Feel deeper woes in this dread day,
When the rude blasts of civil war
Relentless tear their friends away.

There the fair tree of Liberty.

Its withered leaves untimely shed,
Where fall in Freedom's cause the free;
Where rest her sons—the noble dead.

Its withered branches drooping now,
By Wakaw's gentle wave,
Bear sympathy with hearts that bow
In sorrow o'er the new-made grave.

For Kansas' streams, and Kansas' soil,
Reek with the blood of frenzied brave,
Slain to give place to bondmen's toil—
New soil to curse with sweat of slaves.

There sorrow, wretchedness and want,
Stare grim on many homes here—
Their little store, their hopes, near spent,
Only a dreary future left.

With murderous ruffian bands beset,
Their prospects darken every hour;
Yet, with brave hearts, these ill's they meet,
And fall, or stay th' usurping power.

Ye frenzied! by whose fathers' blood
Ye now possess these fertile plains,
Will ye withstand this soulless brood,
Or hark ye to Slavery's chains?

Your statesmen beaten, brethren slain—

Your rights usurped—awake and see!

Arise! again your cause maintain!

Speak, write, live, die for Liberty!

GOD'S WORLD IS WORTHY BETTER MEN.

BY GERALD MARSH.

Behold! an idle tale they tell,

And who shall blame their telling it?

The rogues have got their cant to sell,

The world pays well for selling it.

They say the world's a decent drear,

Still plagued with Egypt's blindness;

That we were sent to suffer here—

What! by God of kindness?

That, since the world has gone astray,

It must be so forever;

And we should stand still and obey

Its desolators. Never!

We'll labor for the better time

With all our might of Press and Pen:

Believe me—it's a truth sublime—

God's world is worthy better men.

With Paradise the world began—

A world of love and sadness;

Its beauty may be marred by man,

With all his crime and madness;

Yet 'tis a brave work still. Love brings

A sunshine for the dreary:

With all our strife, sweet rest hath wings

To fold o'er hearts weary.

The sun in glory, like a god,

To day climbs up heaven's bosom;

The flowers upon the jewell'd sod

In sweet love-lessons blossom—

As radiant of immortal youth

And beauty as in Eden Then

Believe me—it's a noble truth—

God's world is worthy better men.

O, they are bold—those knaves are bold—

Who say we are doomed to anguish;

That men in God's own image soul'd,

Like hell-bound slaves must languish.

Probe Nature's heart to its red core,

There's more of good than evil;

And man—down-trampled man—is more

A angel than a devil.

Prepare to die! Prepare to live!

We know not what is living;

And let us for the world's good give,

As God is ever giving.

Give Action, Thought, Love, Wealth and Time,

To win the prime age again:

Believe me—it's a truth sublime—

God's world is worthy better men.

MISCHIEF-MAKERS.

Oh! could there in this world be found
Some little spot of happy ground,

Where village pleasures might go round

Without the village tattling!

How doubly biest that spot would be,

While every one would soon forgive

The little slights they might receive,

And be offended never.

The mischief-makers that remove

Far from our hearts the warmth of love,

And lead us all to disapprove

What gives another pleasure;

They seem to take one's part—but when

They've heard your ears, unkindly then

They soon retail them all again,

Mix'd up with poisonous measure.

And then they've such a cunning way

Of telling ill-mean tales; they say,

Don't over mention it, pray;

I would not tell another;

Straight to your neighbors then they go,

Narrating every thing they know,

And break the peace of high and low,

Wife, husband, friend and brother.

Oh! that the mischief-making crew

Were all reduced to one or two,

And they were painted red or blue,

That every one might know them!

Then would our villagers forget

To rage and quarrel, fume and fret,

And fall into an angry pet,

With things so much below them.

For 'tis a sad, degrading part

To make another's bosom smart,

And plant a dagger in the heart

We ought to love and cherish!

Then let us evermore be found

In quietness with all around,

While friendship, joy and peace abound,

And angry feelings perish.

APOTROPE TO LIFE.

Life! we've been long together,

Through pleasure and through cloudy weather;

'Tis hard to part where friends are dear,

Perhaps 'twill cost both pang and tear;

So, steal thine own time—

Say not, Good night! but in you happier clime

Bid me Good morning!

I was denounced as a traitor, fit only to be hung, for

I was a traitor, fit only to be hung, for

THE LIBERATOR.

LETTER FROM REV. W. G. BABCOCK.
HARVARD, 18th November, 1856.

DEAR GARRISON:

If the people would not sleep so soundly between Presidential elections, they would not be so crazy at those times. I do not wonder, as it is, that so many are tired and sick of politics. Paradoxical and amusing as it sounds to many ears, THE LIBERATOR is about the only paper that always keeps calm and collected, zealous and prudent. It is about the most conservative paper published, quietly urging the sovereign people to assert their right to freedom and righteousness. Its deep principles make no noise, and cause no ruin in fanatical campaigns. The its principles allow no suspension of life and labor between these occasional freshets. The advice most current now is, to return to the good old quiet and sleepy way of preaching and living. And this quiet time will be adopted till it is too late to change the government of this country, except by civil war. Let this afford you consolation in your struggles against that terrible power, the Slave Oligarchy of the United States, that is threatening to engulf what of hope and happiness remain in the Republic.

I see that Slavery has gained another triumph by placing Buchanan on its awful throne. God pity your country! With the shade of Jefferson, I tremble for it when I remember that God is just. A fearful retribution awaits it. The fetters that are clanking around the limbs of her slaves shall yet bind in galling bonds the abolitionists and supporters of the infernal system of American slavery.

Even now, if the people and the clergy, the press and the parlor, would more steadily towards the formation of a public anti-slavery sentiment, if all would uncompromisingly go for no connection with slavery, no recognition of pro-slavery compact as of any force, no supremacy of Constitution over the Higher Law; if the people in every town would calmly carry forward anti-slavery organizations, circulate abolition sentiments, and aim at immediate national reparation, we might, even at this ninth hour, be saved from the scourge that awaits us. But, alas! the lamentations of the Prophets and the Savior are as applicable now as ever!

Even in the well-written Thanksgiving Proclamation, we are called upon to thank God that 'the Will of the many is the Law of all.' I thank God that the will of God is my law, and hope to thank God at some future day that the will of the many is not regarded ultimate and binding law by any. And yet, we are deemed wild and crazy for preferring the sovereignty of Divine Principles to the sovereignty of a Party or the Constitution. No master: we can do as Mrs. Child recommended, sing on in union with Divine Sovereignty, if not to the music of the Union, until the whole choir shall be drawn out of their horrid discords into true harmony.

Your anti-slavery friend,
WM. G. BABCOCK.

Sir: Your letter of the 20th ultimo and 3d instant, requesting passports for eleven colored persons, have been received, and I am directed by the Secretary to inform you that the papers transmitted by you do not warrant the department in complying with your request:

A passport is a certificate that the person to whom it is granted is a citizen of the United States, and it can only be issued upon proof of this fact.

In these papers which accompany your communication, there is not satisfactory evidence that the persons for whom you request passports are of this description. They are represented in your letter as 'colored,' and described in the affidavits as 'black,' from which statement it may be fairly inferred that they are negroes. If this be so, there can be no doubt that they are not citizens of the United States. The question whether free negroes are such citizens is not now presented for the first time, but has repeatedly arisen in the administration of both the national and State governments.

In 1821 a controversy arose as to whether free persons of color were citizens of the United States, within the intent and meaning of the acts of Congress regulating foreign and coasting trade, so as to be disqualified to command vessels; and Mr. Wirt, Attorney General, decided that they were not, and moreover held that the words, 'citizens of the United States,' were used in the acts of Congress in the same sense as in the constitution. This view is also fully sustained in a recent opinion of the present Attorney General.

The judicial decisions of the country are to the same effect. In Kent's Commentaries, vol. 2, p. 277, it is stated that in 1833, Chief Justice Daggett, of Connecticut, held that free blacks are not citizens, within the meaning of the term as used in the constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State aginst Claiborne, held the same doctrine.

Such being the construction of the constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is conceived that they cannot be regarded as citizens of the United States—passports are not to be issued to them. They are represented in your letter as 'colored,' and as a shield against the charge of being negroes, it is urged that they are not citizens, within the meaning of the term as used in the constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State aginst Claiborne, held the same doctrine.

The judicial decisions of the country are to the same effect. In Kent's Commentaries, vol. 2, p. 277, it is stated that in 1833, Chief Justice Daggett, of Connecticut, held that free blacks are not citizens, within the meaning of the term as used in the constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State aginst Claiborne, held the same doctrine.

Such being the construction of the constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is conceived that they cannot be regarded as citizens of the United States—passports are not to be issued to them. They are represented in your letter as 'colored,' and as a shield against the charge of being negroes, it is urged that they are not citizens, within the meaning of the term as used in the constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State aginst Claiborne, held the same doctrine.

Such being the construction of the constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is conceived that they cannot be regarded as citizens of the United States—passports are not to be issued to them. They are represented in your letter as 'colored,' and as a shield against the charge of being negroes, it is urged that they are not citizens, within the meaning of the term as used in the constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State aginst Claiborne, held the same doctrine.

Such being the construction of the constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is conceived that they cannot be regarded as citizens of the United States—passports are not to be issued to them. They are represented in your letter as 'colored,' and as a shield against the charge of being negroes, it is urged that they are not citizens, within the meaning of the term as used in the constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State aginst Claiborne, held the same doctrine.

Such being the construction of the constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is conceived that they cannot be regarded as citizens of the United States—passports are not to be issued to them. They are represented in your letter as 'colored,' and as a shield against the charge of being negroes, it is urged that they are not citizens, within the meaning of the term as used in the constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State aginst Claiborne, held the same doctrine.

Such being the construction of the constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is conceived that they cannot be regarded as citizens of the United States—passports are not to be issued to them. They are represented in your letter as 'colored,' and as a shield against the charge of being negroes, it is urged that they are not citizens, within the meaning of the term as used in the constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State aginst Claiborne, held the same doctrine.

Such being the construction of the constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is conceived that they cannot be regarded as citizens of the United States—passports are not to be issued to them. They are represented in your letter as 'colored,' and as a shield against the charge of being negroes, it is urged that they are not citizens, within the meaning of the term as used in the constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State aginst Claiborne, held the same doctrine.

Such being the construction of the constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is conceived that they cannot be regarded as citizens of the United States—passports are not to be issued to them. They are represented in your letter as 'colored,' and as a shield against the charge of being negroes, it is urged that they are not citizens, within the meaning of the term as used in the constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State aginst Claiborne, held the same doctrine.

Such being the construction of the constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is conceived that they cannot be regarded as citizens of the United States—passports are not to be issued to them. They are represented in your letter as 'colored,' and as a shield against the charge of being negroes, it is urged that they are not citizens, within the meaning of the term as used in the constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State aginst Claiborne, held the same doctrine.

Such being the construction of the constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is conceived that they cannot be regarded as citizens of the United States—passports are not to be issued to them. They are represented in your letter as 'colored,' and as a shield against the charge of being negroes, it is urged that they are not citizens, within the meaning of the term as used in the constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State aginst Claiborne, held the same doctrine.

Such being the construction of the constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is conceived that they cannot be regarded as citizens of the United States—passports are not to be issued to them. They are represented in your letter as 'colored,' and as a shield against the charge of being negroes, it is urged that they are not citizens, within the meaning of the term as used in the constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State aginst Claiborne, held the same doctrine.

Such being the construction of the constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is conceived that they cannot be regarded as citizens of the United States—passports are not to be issued